a man she is told to carry dinner to her intended husband and she eats with him, a thing which is only permitted to wives. [433]

They name the wives of the Caribs according to the order in which they were married. It is a general rule that some of the Caribs have many wives. Nevertheless, there are many women without husbands because the greater part of the husbands have only one wife. There are some who have two wives in one or two carbets. It happens quite often when they are in another island that they do not bring their women with them. They obtain new ones only for the time that they expect to live there. I have never seen two women eating or sleeping with one man at the same time. They do not travel together with him in the same canoe. Each has her turn from month to month, even when pregnant. After giving birth, a wife has no relations with her husband for a long period, fearing that this will harm the child if she did so. The above is what ordinarily happens concerning marriage. There are some abnormalities in particular instances. I have seen two men who took their very own daughters as wives, but all the others hated them because of this. The son of one of these men joined the Capuchin Order, because he was so ashamed of the infamy of his father, and he died a Christian death at the convent of these fathers located at the new street of St. Honoré in Paris. I have seen another who had as wives both a mother and her daughter, and some who had carried off the wives of others because they maintained these women belonged to them by right. They have an expression for this situation which means they ravish women belonging to another. Those who carry the women off call them nábognoni. The old men sometimes take girls who are fourteen or fifteen years old, in addition to all of the slave women which the young men capture. Slave women are given by the young men to their fathers or grandfathers. The children of these marriages are respected and treated as legitimate. Finally certain ones stand under suspicion of tendencies against nature, but this evil is recognized and pointed out. [277]

The women are able to have one husband only, and several wives call their husband by the same name. Carib men are able to have several wives and use several names to distinguish them. They build their wives separate houses in order to live with them more quietly. Women are rarely found all together with their husband, and they never share his hammock. Each wife has a moon during which time she serves him and follows him everywhere. When the moon expires she yields her

217 The register of births includes, from the first of January, 1917, to March, [163] 1920, 70 births, of which only 38 are legitimate, with an equal num- 165 ber of children of each sex. The register of deaths mentions in the same lapse of time 48 deaths, caused by the following illnesses, whose diagnosis is perhaps slightly capricious.

Dysentery	15	Disorders of the heart	1
Fever	13	" of the blood	1
Pleurisy	4	Accidents	3
Sunstroke	2	Stillborn or dead	
Bronchitis	1	shortly after birth	8

These deaths are distributed as follows according to age:

	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine
Up to 3	14	11	From 15 to 50	12	3
From 3 to 15	2	3	Over 50	0	3

The three women who died above the age of fifty were respectively 80, 87, and 89 years old, and in examining the last figures in the chart one notes that longevity is greater in the feminine sex than in the masculine.

● 835 /142/ Incestuous marriages are still frequent; they were the rule formerly; "fathers," according to Father Dutertre, "married their daughters, mothers, their sons, and the same man married two sisters 582 or the mother and the daughter. Women married at the age of seventeen or eighteen, but they are nubile younger and often have 595 children before this age. Formerly polygamy was general and the Caribs had as many as seven wives, not counting those whom they married on each island where they went often. Now that the Caribs 771 profess, at least nominally, the Catholic faith, a man has only one legitimate wife; it is true that he adds as many concubines as his [163] fortune permits him to have. Children are generally numerous; there are 8 or 9 on the average and up to 14; the number of still-births and the infant mortality is 11.4 per 100.

Religious ideas, according to all the ancient travellers, were very little developed among the Caribs of the Antilles and consisted [798] simply of a vague belief in a good and an evil principle, which they called manitou, but they had no word to denote God or a superior Spirit.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastise or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's comboose (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two carbets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their mistresses) that they get themselves new ones for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.

However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, sent to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sororate. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."

The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roku (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives ate with their husbands.

The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own müyn8, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tábuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective carbets.

Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l' Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665) [also attributed to de Poincy].